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No Career in No Man's Land

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NO CAREER IN NO MAN'S LAND

*A message to the artists who make up
America's great amusement industry.*

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ETHEL BARRYMORE AS AMERICA

"Unconditional Surrender"

FROM A NEW SERIES OF PATRIOTIC PICTURES ARRANGED BY BEN

JGIN

From The Theatre Magazine, December, 1918

Today the amusement industry is being mobilized once more to place America into war.

No Career in No Man's Land

IN 1916 Broadway sang *I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier* . . . but by 1918 the song had modulated into *Goodbye Broadway, Hello France*.

In 1916 members of the cultural professions helped re-elect Woodrow Wilson under the slogan—*He Kept America Out of War!* . . . but by 1918, Douglas Fairbanks, George M. Cohan and Mary Pickford were selling Liberty Bonds; Elsie Janis was singing the lachrymose ballad of *The Slacker*; and the chorus line was vamping the second balcony into enlisting in the A.E.F. Broadway had become the supersalesman of the First World War.

There followed meatless days and heatless days, obituary lists . . . and eventually the Armistice. With the Armistice came the realization that the war had been fought for reasons that had nothing to do with democracy, "little Belgium," honor or peace.

The whole country learned that our entry into the First World War was a terrible mistake, that it was an imperialist war, and that the "democratic" slogans which lured us into war were false and misleading.

Broadway realized this later. But the damage had already been done. The wide-eyed kids in the second balcony had been vamped into the trenches, and become unknown soldiers in Flanders Field.

NEW REHEARSALS—THE SAME STORY

Since the First World War we've passed through twenty-two years of installment-buying prosperity into a severe depression and great unemployment, and now the

Second Imperialist War is a reality. A new group of kids are in the balcony, a new generation of stars in the theatre has reached the pinnacle of fame, and the way is being prepared for America's re-entrance into the trenches.

A new batch of slogans for war has come west across the Atlantic from 10 Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay to the American war-makers in Wall Street. They in turn have mobilized the American press and radio to stir up a war atmosphere and hysteria. The tactics are strikingly similar to those of 1916-1918 and though we are assured that this war is different, that this war is *really* for democracy, the facts tell a different story. Instead of "little Belgium," we have "little Finland"; but the *casus belli* is still the Bank of England-Wall Street version of the meaning of democracy. A concerted drive has begun to put America into war. The repercussions have already been felt in the theatre.

THE DRIVE FOR AMERICA'S ENTRY INTO WAR

1. During the past four months, we in the cultural arts have witnessed the mad rush of the Roosevelt Administration to raise the arms embargo, which formerly prevented nations at war from purchasing supplies and war materials in this country. No attempt was made to mask the fact that the lifting of the embargo was intended to aid England and France in their fight to "save democracy" for the world against the onslaughts of Hitler Germany. And no attempt is being made today to mask the fact that the unneutral credits asked for Finland and Scandinavia through the Export-Import Bank by President Roosevelt on January 16 of this year are disguised war loans to Mannerheim-dominated Finland. All this in spite of the fact that Loyalist Spain and

democratic China were allowed to bleed to death for democracy, beneath the bombs of Hitler, Mussolini, Franco and the Mikado, without a bit of help from official America.

2. Not only credit is being shipped to Europe today, but munitions too! Forty-four of America's fastest fighting planes, so new they have never been used in our own navy, have been shipped "over there"—this time to Finland. Who will go to collect the debt on these airplanes? The war-makers of Wall Street or the kids in the second balcony?

3. The press was mobilized in 1916 to print atrocity stories of "little Belgium." Look at the atrocity stories of "little Finland" today. Bombing stories from Helsinki that never took place, that are contradicted by U. S. Ambassador to Finland Shoenfeld's statements, in the same papers in which they are reported. Photographs of the Spanish War dug out of the newsreel and newspaper files and labelled "women and children dead in Finland."

The Week, highly authoritative English publication on international affairs, expresses amazement at the "lack of coordination in Western propaganda" on the matter of hostilities in Finland. "While some British and American newspapers were freely reporting the massacre of civilians in Helsinki neither the correspondents of the *London Times*, the correspondents of Swiss newspapers nor the official Finnish radio station in Lahti at the time said anything about the matter at all, although some of them got into line later. . . . Even amateurs comparing pictures published in different British newspapers could detect the degree of faking in various offices, ruins and other objects having been painted in with the greatest degree of haste." Proof of this is the resignation of the Moscow correspondent of

the London *Daily Express*, on January 16, 1940, because of outright falsification in attributing a story to him which he never wrote.

4. As if this mobilization of American money, munitions and war hysteria led by the Roosevelt Administration was not enough, we have witnessed Herbert Hoover's stampede out of the West to organize a committee to send additional funds to "little Finland." This is an old role for Mr. Hoover. In the last war Mr. Hoover's plea for "little Belgium" was instrumental in driving America into war.

It need not be pointed out that Mr. Hoover contributed nothing to the preservation of democracy in Spain when Hitler and Mussolini were bombing Guernica, Madrid and Barcelona; that all his desires for "relief" for foreign countries were never practiced by his presidential administration when breadlines and hunger marches and America's unemployed were demanding such relief. Then he succeeded merely in implanting in American minds the unforgettable memory of Anacostia Flats, apple-selling and Hoovervilles. Now, when the reactionary war-makers are marching and the struggle is not for democracy but for *profits*, Hoover comes out of his well-merited retirement, with political aspirations, to help drive America into war with his "little Belgium" tactics of 1916.

THIS IS WHERE WE CAME IN

As part of the Hoover committee to send additional funds to Finland and embroil America in the Second Imperialist War, Louis Schaffer, executive director of Labor Stage, on December 26, 1939, one day after the *Peace In Our Time* Christmas messages of President Roosevelt and the Pope, announced himself as chairman of a sub-committee of leading actors and actresses to

"bend every effort toward staging benefits to augment the funds being raised for the Finns."

There we have the picture of the drive being made to embroil America in a Second Imperialist War related specifically to the amusement industry.

The merry-go-round has started again. Luncheon meetings at the Algonquin with Helen Hayes as chairman; stage benefits for Finland; coercion on the part of producers to have the actors contribute their services voluntarily or face blacklisting; Hollywood glamor stars turning on their charm for British and French relief; and even the formation of the American Theatre Wing of the French and British Relief Fund, with Rachel Crothers (founder of the Stage Women's War Relief during the First World War) as organizer.

We're back where we were in 1916, with Broadway stars high-pressured into "barking" for the war-makers. Unless we concretize our peace sentiments, next will come the *Johnny, Get Your Gun* songs, the Stage Women's Committee to coax the nation into enlisting, finally the speeches, Liberty Bond pleas, more war incitement and then . . . "IT WAS ALL A TERRIBLE MISTAKE."

Yes, we've been there before. We know the lines before they are spoken. No one needs a rehearsal. But this time it must not happen—we must not allow ourselves to be lured by misleading and destructive slogans and leaders.

Louis Schaffer has assumed the role of leadership in this theatre committee to aid Finland and hasten the day of America's participation in the war. A member of the Social-Democratic Federation and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the union sponsoring *Pins and Needles* on Broadway, Schaffer's action as a Hoover lieutenant stamps him as the type of treacherous trade union leader who has subordinated the interests

FAMOUS PLAYERS CONTRIBUTE THEIR TALENTS



STRIKING REVIEW OF THE AMERICAN STAGE IN AN EXTRAORDINARY BENEFIT

Many of the happiest memories of the American stage were revived on the boards of the Strand Theatre on December 26, 1914, when thirty of our most prominent artists appeared in a unique all-star cast for the benefit of the Belgian women and children made destitute by the war. Each player appeared in the role with which he or she is best identified. It was a notable procession of famous dramatic characters. Thomas Jefferson

TO AID THE BELGIAN VICTIMS OF THE WAR



PERFORMANCE GIVEN AT THE STRAND THEATRE, NEW YORK CITY

was seen as Rip Van Winkle, a part which his father endeared to countless theatre-goers. Mrs. Patrick Campbell appeared as Melisande. William Gillette was seen as Sherlock Holmes. William H. Crane as David Harum. Edith Wynne Matheson as Everyman. Viola Allen as Hermione. Ellen Terry as Portia. Henry Miller in "The Only Way" etc, etc. The benefit yielded the sum of \$15,000.

From The Theatre Magazine, January, 1915

"LITTLE BELGIUM THEN—"LITTLE FINLAND" NOW: Two years before America's entry into the First Imperialist War, thirty of America's most prominent theatre stars played a benefit for Belgium which yielded \$15,000. Managers and stars reaped huge rewards in publicity for their work, while minor players got nothing.

Today, stage benefits for "little Finland" are part of the Hoover-Roosevelt-Wall Street drive to get America into this war. It took two years then—how long will it take now for the theatre to play its part in sending American youth to their death? Does the amusement industry wish to shoulder this great responsibility again?

of the workers in his community to Chamber of Commerce leaders.

On a smaller scale, Schaffer follows dog-like in the path of such a "big-time" labor-betrayer as Leon Blum who has just been selected by Daladier to explain to the French workers the imposition of a straight 15 per cent war tax on their wages.

Schaffer has become a "barker" for international imperialism supporting the Second Imperialist War just as Samuel Gompers did in this country in 1914, and Matthew Woll is doing now, completely betraying the true interests of the people in every country.

THE ARTIST AND DEMOCRACY

Since 1919 the theatrical profession has carried on a continuous struggle for a decent standard of living for its workers. Actors' Equity has grown into a powerful trade union, something which was accomplished only after the First World War. (It was during the war period that the "White Rats," predecessor of Actors' Equity, was defeated in its fight for maintenance of minimum salaries and the enforcing of decent contracts by the war-time gag of "patriotism." This is only an indication of what is likely to happen to Equity if the Schaffer-Hoover-Woll war plotters are permitted to continue their destructive work.)

Following in the wake of Equity came all the other trade unions of the arts field. Radio actors, variety artists, writers, screen actors, press agents, artists, chorus girls, screen directors, musicians organized themselves for their economic betterment. So did theatre managers and treasurers, screen publicists and technicians, dramatists, authors and others. Through the actual working out of trade union problems, the artist began to have a more

personal understanding of the processes of democracy and the need for maintaining democratic principles.

This is one of the reasons why the cultural world in America organized in a solid front to protest the destruction of democracy and civil liberties by fascist dictators in China, Ethiopia, Spain, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Albania and Memel.

American cultural artists, simultaneously, fought strenuously for the Federal Theatre and Arts Projects on the home front. We realized that our hurried plane trips to Washington, our receptions and midnight rallies and radio broadcasts were integrally tied up with our fight against war and fascism abroad, and at home.

"DEMOCRATIC" FINLAND

How does this proud democratic history of American theatre artists during the past decade compare with the Schaffer Committee's efforts to gather stars like Tallulah Bankhead, Katharine Hepburn, Gertrude Lawrence, Eddie Dowling, Maurice Evans, Paul Muni, Martha Graham, Ruth Draper, George S. Kaufman, Moss Hart, Arthur Hopkins, and other great artists, to organize benefits to send additional funds to the war-makers of Europe?

Schaffer, who has organized this committee to come to the aid of the Finnish military leaders led by Mannerheim, Tanner, Wallenius and Ryti, is a trade unionist who claims that "little Finland" is a peace-loving democracy attacked by the "imperialistic" Russian Bear. Schaffer claims that since the Finnish government in Helsinki is a democratic one, it must be supported with funds from the United States in the interest of worldwide democracy.

What fraud and deceit this is becomes apparent when the true facts are examined.

For Schaffer and Woll know full well that in a special United States Department of Commerce report issued November 30, 1939, on the status of trade unions in Finland (a matter in which Schaffer and Woll as democrats and trade unionists should be vitally interested), it is noted:

"Trade unions, although they have played some part in wage disputes in Finland have little influence in comparison with the trade unions in the Scandinavian countries and the organized labor movement (in Finland—Ed.) is not highly developed."

Why is the trade union movement in Finland so weak? Because the Mannerheim terrorists and fascists have conducted the most murderous sort of anti-labor campaigns equalled only by the Hitler campaigns in Germany! Is this the kind of democracy that American artists should support with funds and arms?

The destruction of the trade union movement in Finland is not an isolated instance. In 1919, President Wilson received a report from Finland from William C. Bullitt, now U. S. Ambassador to France and voluntary head of the American Field Service, telling Wilson and the Senate:

"It is worthy of note that in the White Terror in Southern Finland alone, according to *official figures*, General Mannerheim executed *without trial twelve thousand working men and women.*" (U. S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, September 12, 1919.)

On December 10, 1939, Joshua Wedgewood, one of the most prominent members of the British Labor Party, gave a statement to the *London News Chronicle*. Wedgewood said:

"During the first weeks of May, 1918 (in Mannerheim's Finland), about 90,000 men and women were arrested and from 15,000 to 20,000 were shot immediately.

"The usual procedure was to shoot every tenth prisoner, often every fifth. But even after these executions



From The Theatre Magazine, November, 1917

THE MOVIES DOES ITS BIT: Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks and others raised \$17,200,000 on tours through this country to finance the "war to end all wars." Here is one of their extracurricular activities, a movie to stimulate interest in the second Liberty Loan, milking the average citizen of his fifty-dollar savings to finance a Wall Street war which did not make the world safe for democracy, but which brought false prosperity, great unemployment and a Second Imperialist War.

the remaining prisoners were finecombed in an effort to discover people suspected of sympathy with the revolution.

"In this way 5,000 were shot in Riihimäki, 2,000 in Lahti, 4,000 in Viiborg (Viipuri), etc. Two weeks later 200 women were put to death by machine gun fire in Lahti.

"Seventy thousand people were imprisoned or banished to concentration camps where a regime unparalleled for its brutality reigned. One-third of the prisoners, deprived not only of food but even of water, died in the first four months."

(These men and women were the Finnish democrats and trade unionists who, according to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, were killed in a "White counter-terror" after the Finnish "propertied classes" with 12,000 Germans aided Baron Mannerheim to overthrow the people's democratic government of Finland.)

Wedgewood recalled that he cited these facts in a speech to the House of Commons on May 29, 1919, and wrote that indignation even among the Conservative members of Parliament was so great that Mannerheim was refused permission to visit England.

"Nonetheless," Wedgewood concluded, "Mannerheim continues to rule Finland. Neither from a humanitarian viewpoint nor from considerations of liberty can one regret the changes which will lead to Mannerheim's removal."

This is the type of democracy that Herbert Hoover aids by sending food and relief to Mannerheim, whose recognition he first urged in a letter to President Wilson, April 26, 1919, even though he added: "I realize there are a lot of people who consider that General Mannerheim casts a sinister shadow over the present govern-

ment. . . ." (The New York *Times* deliberately suppressed Mannerheim's name when it reprinted the letter December 21, 1939, substituting the phrase "a certain gentleman casts a sinister shadow over the present government.")

Is this the kind of democracy that "trade unionists" Schaffer and Woll ask American theatre artists to hold benefits for? Is this the type of democracy that Schaffer and Woll wish to compare to proud Loyalist Spain and China? Only a past master at the art of labor-betraying could ask stage people to run benefits for General Mannerheim under the guise of supporting a democracy.

Yet men like Hoover and Schaffer obliterate these facts. And honest, liberal-minded artists are drawn into a pro-war movement by a dishonest parallel between the struggle for democracy in Spain, China, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, Austria and Albania on the one hand and Finland on the other.

WRONG CUE—HOOVER-SCHAFER STYLE

The struggle for democracy in the first group of nations had the unanimous backing of the American theatre because it was a true struggle for democracy. We saw that if their fight for liberty had been successful then, the fascist war-makers would have been halted in their tracks. If Franco had been defeated in Spain or Hitler in Czechoslovakia, there would have been no Second Imperialist War. *We must always remember that the struggles in Spain, China, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia and Austria took place BEFORE the outbreak of war and the success of the people in these struggles would have PREVENTED the present outbreak of world-wide fighting.*

While Hitler, Mussolini and the Mikado were driving hell-bent for war, Chamberlain, Daladier and the treach-

erous labor traitors who acted as their lieutenants did nothing to prevent that drive.

On the contrary, they aided and abetted the dictators whenever possible.

It was Chamberlain who prevented Allied aid to Spain and Czechoslovakia. It was Leon Blum who sealed the French border when Loyalist Spain was being bombed to death by Franco, Hitler and Mussolini, and prevented the French people from sending supplies.

And in America, what theatre committee did Louis Schaffer form for aid to Spain, Czechoslovakia, China and Austria? What aid did labor "leaders" Green, Woll and Frey send to democratic Spain? If Hitler had been stopped then, there would be no obituary lists, no blackouts, no air raids, no nightmares for peace-loving peoples of the world. Where were the Hoovers, Wolls and Schaffers when war COULD have been prevented?

Where was President Roosevelt with America's forty-four fastest fighting planes? Why wasn't the embargo on arms to democratic Spain repealed when no embargo on war materials to Japan existed? Why was the embargo placed on aid to Loyalist Spain at all? Where was the Hoover aid for Spanish and Chinese women and children mercilessly being bombed by fascist invaders?

War could have been prevented then!

Now war fires rage. The Second Imperialist War progresses, in spite of the overwhelming peace sentiments of the people of the world. And now our Hoovers and Schaffers and Wolls come a-running for war help. *Whereas the struggle in democratic Spain took place BEFORE the outbreak of world war and was a tremendous effort to PREVENT its outbreak, the Finnish provocation occurred AFTER the outbreak and is an effort on the part of the Allied governments with the help of*



FRANCES STARR
With Miss Gertrude Robinson Smith urging her
hearers to enlist in Uncle Sam's sea forces

From The Theatre Magazine, May, 1917

EXPLOITING THE AMUSEMENT INDUSTRY: Besides recruiting men and dollars, more than 35,000 men and women, from all phases of the amusement industry, served as unsuspecting end-men "to sell the war" to both the American public and soldiers. With their help, over four million Americans were mobilized; 107,284 were sent to their death; and 234,300 were wounded. Will the men and women of the theatre and allied arts send America's youth to their death again?

American imperialist war-makers to extend the bloody war throughout the world!

That is the difference between our efforts to aid Spain, China, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Albania and Memel—and our efforts to stop aid to the imperialistic British puppets in Finland today.

THE PAWN—FINLAND

For twenty years, the heavily armed forts of Finland represented not only the armed strength of "little Finland" but actually the consolidated might and power of the combined Allied War Council and whatever neutrals could be induced to join including America.

Remember Soviet Russia GAVE Finland her independence in 1918 after centuries of oppression under the Swedish Kings and Russian Czars. The independence of Finland was granted not by outside force but because Communist policy insists on the rights of nations to self-determination even to the extent of secession if necessary, as was the case in Finland. Only after the Finns had been freed did the arch-reactionary Mannerheim ride into power over the bodies of his countrymen to establish his fascist, military regime, with the support of British, German and American troops and funds.

Listen to the following editorial, from the *Milwaukee Leader*, July 10, 1919, when Mannerheim was first asserting his tyrannical rule over Finland:

"It begins to become clear at what price Finland secured recognition. (From the Allied Governments—Ed.)

"A special correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* has cabled that paper from Paris that it has been agreed at the peace conference to instruct British, French, Italian and American charges d'affaires at Helsingfors to urge the Finns to accept Kolchak's request for a

combined offensive against Petrograd (now Leningrad, U.S.S.R.; Kolchak, along with Mannerheim, was a White Guard Czarist officer who led the most violent cabal of anti-Semitic pogroms in 'Holy Russia.'—Ed.).

"The Mannerheim Government of Finland—which has been recognized by the Allies—was and is drenched with blood. . . .

"Yet it seems that the bloody Finnish Government would like to forego further bloodshed. But, if the *Tribune* dispatch is authentic, the Allies will not have it so—but will insist upon Finnish war against Russia."

The flame of anti-Soviet hatred still burns in the minds of the Chamberlain, Daladier and Hoover "leaders" of our world today. Read the statement of the nationally known political columnist, David Lawrence, in the influential Washington newspaper, the *United States News*:

"It is not impossible, say the realists at the nation's capital, that Prime Minister Chamberlain, with the hearty approval of President Roosevelt, is prepared to start action on a world union against the Soviet Union that will make the anti-Communist alliance of Germany-Italy-Japan and Franco look like small potatoes. Its purpose is to destroy the Soviet Union if possible . . . by a world war against Russia. The League of Nations which proved ineffective against the conquests of Germany, Italy and Japan, may become a *League for War Against Russia*.

"Compared to the proposed league of armed power, in which the United States and the Latin American countries would be members along with possibly Germany, Italy, Japan, Spain and Turkey, the recent German-sponsored anti-Communist pact would be a mere bush-leaguer."

The dean of the English theatre, George Bernard Shaw, thoroughly understands "The World War Against the Soviet Union—The Modern Crusade," as the *U. S. News* terms it. Said Shaw:

"It is not at all a question of Russia, a great power, attempting to subject Finland, which is a small power. It is a question of Russia seeing to her own security. In Russia's view Finland can have no defensible objection to the carrying out of the exchange of territories for which Russia asked—unless she is allowing herself to be used by America or another Western Power.

"No power can tolerate a frontier from which a town such as Leningrad could be shelled when she knows that the power on the other side of the frontier, however small and weak it may be, is being made by a foolish government to act in the interests of other great powers menacing her security."

IMPERIALIST PROVOCATION

The U.S.S.R. knew this as well as anyone. Its proposals were simple and fair. Large land and money payments in return for naval bases and moving back the Karelian Isthmus border to place Leningrad out of the range of Finnish artillery.

For Finland to have agreed to the Soviet's necessary proposals would have in no way infringed upon the national safety and independence of that country, and it would have established peace in the Baltic. The U.S.S.R.'s agreements with the other Baltic countries, Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, were peacefully negotiated for the mutual betterment of the peoples of all the Baltic countries. In regard to Finland, however, British and French imperialism (to say nothing of American and

Italian imperialism) could not tolerate giving up their strategic threat to Leningrad *nor did they want peace* between Finland and the U.S.S.R.

What happened we know. Chamberlain, faced with a war with Germany he didn't want, could not afford another war with the Soviet Union. Instead, his policy, according to Alter Brody in the January 30 issue of the *New Masses*, "was a non-aggressive war against Nazi Germany and an aggressive 'peace' against the Soviet Union." (Proof that Chamberlain has no bone to pick with fascism, nazism or dictatorship is found in his idea of what "setting things right in Germany" should be. Instead of Hitler, Chamberlain would like to see butcher Goering in power, because the Prime Minister believes Goering would be willing to take orders—anti-Soviet ones.)

Mannerheim-dominated Finland was prodded by British and French and American imperialism. Many of America's great artists are beginning to realize this. Paul Robeson, in an interview with Douglas Gilbert of the *World-Telegram*, February 1, said:

"I know that Chamberlain is eager to make a deal with Germany, and I feel that both Chamberlain and Daladier represent the forces of reaction. I suspect already a subtle Fascism permeating England that may become more acute as the war progresses.

"I feel that England's influence is pronounced in the Scandinavian countries and that this influence is not democratic but reactionary. It possibly may have inspired the Finnish hostilities, which simply means that Russia is fighting a defensive war.

"According to my reasoning, aid to the Finns, then, in reality, is aid to the reactionary forces, which, if the Allies win the war, still would leave world problems, the problems of the oppressed in the colonies, the

problems of the workers, unsolved. The progressive policies of the liberals in all countries are not represented by the Chamberlain, Daladier or Mannerheim governments."

As further proof of this incitement the *World-Telegram* brags that "Britain and France had sent \$40,000,000 worth of war supplies to Finland before Russia attacked her" and Dorothy Thompson cautions in her January 20 *Herald-Tribune* column that "we have led Finland on and now we are going to let it down."

In light of this, the Mannerheim clique assumed an unyielding attitude to the Soviet's moderate proposals. Provocative statements were issued, mobilization took place, cities were evacuated, a Scandinavian anti-Soviet bloc was formed, the world was deluged with denunciations of the Soviet Government, and Red Army detachments on the border were fired on.

The Soviet Union could do nothing else but take action for the defense of Leningrad and the U.S.S.R. in the face of this organized and persistent policy of provocation by Finland and its imperialist inciters. The U.S.S.R.'s agreement with the Finnish People's Democratic Government demonstrates the respect it has for the full national independence of Finland—the independence which it first gave to the Finnish people.

THE SOVIET PEACE POLICY

What has been the role of the Soviet Union in connection with the struggle for peace and democracy?

Sean O'Casey, the eminent Irish dramatist, has said:

"For, above all other nations, Russia desires and needs peace to allow her great policy of construction to go without interruption. . . . If the Soviet method of life be good then it is good that the rest of the

world see more of it. Wealth and privilege must give way before it."

The Soviet Union's consistent peace policy is a matter of record during the past two decades.

After the U.S.S.R.'s plans, during the early '30's, for complete international disarmament were rejected by the imperialist states in the League of Nations, it proposed partial disarmament. This was also voted down. Then the U.S.S.R. embarked on a policy of non-aggression pacts with all possible countries.

When the Second Imperialist War began to loom ominously after the accession to power of Hitler in Germany, the Soviet Government became the world leader in the struggle to develop a great international peace front of the democratic peoples to halt the fascist aggressor states and to maintain international peace.

The Soviet Union was the only nation throughout the world to give active, continuous aid to Spain and China. Every newspaper and magazine announced this fact. It was never a secret. The Soviet Union was the only government on the face of the globe which thought enough of the value of peace and democracy to fight for it, whenever and wherever it was threatened. When the United States placed an embargo on war materials to Spain, the U.S.S.R. rushed aid to Madrid. While the United States continues to supply more than half of Japan's war materials, even though it gives lip service to the fight for freedom in China, the U.S.S.R. has sent arms and munitions to China.

When Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, President Benes announced to the world that there was only one country in Europe that had guaranteed to stand by its pledges to fight for the freedom of the Czech democracy—the Soviet Union. Chamberlain and Daladier, to their ever-

lasting shame, refused to stand by their pledges and backed down before Hitler.

These are the same men who now accuse the Soviet Union of anti-democratic moves. And the Soviet Union is the country against whom the entire imperialist world is mobilizing.

Then the Second Imperialist War broke out—a war not to free Poland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, India and the colonial possessions of the Allies and fascist states throughout the world, but for the maintenance and extension of the Allies' economic and military leadership of the world. Immediately, the Soviet Union continued its peace policy. It asked for the war's halt, denouncing its aims, because it was an unjust war from which the peoples of the world could gain nothing but misery.

By this policy, the U.S.S.R. continued its role as the only government on the face of the globe truly valuing democracy and peace, and taking an unwavering and determined position to see that they were secured for the interests of the people of the world.

How can labor "bosses" Woll and Schaffer compare this positive peace policy of the Soviet Union with the aggressive war policy of the Allies, whom they wish to aid?

While the Soviet Union opposes the war's extension, Great Britain and France, especially, are making every effort to extend the war by dragging in all neutral countries and to inflame the Finnish situation into a general capitalist war against the Soviet Union.

Living proof of British imperialism's desire to embroil every nation, every neutral, in this war in a last dying attempt to maintain its power are the New York *Times'* front-page article of January 5, 1940, and Winston Churchill's radio address reported in the *Times* on January 20.

The cat has been let out of the bag again. The front-page headline ran: "Allies Discuss Scandinavian War! Sweden and Norway May Be Battlefields Whether They Like It or Not!" While Churchill invited neutral Belgium, Holland, Rumania and others to join the Imperialist War "in accordance with the Covenant of the League."

America next? Through participation in Finland?

THE REAL FIGHT

This is the real war provocation today. And behind the advertised humanitarianism, "save the small nations," with crocodile tears and well-practiced smirking over faked "atrocities," there is for us, the American people, the reality of a gigantic *war program*.

President Roosevelt's 1940 budget proposes to feed the nation cannons in a \$574,000,000 enlargement of the already huge governmental expenditures for the Army and Navy, instead of relieving the pressure of unemployment. The crippled W.P.A. budget has been reduced an additional \$477,000,000 to meet the war needs of a nation *not at war*. *Five hundred thousand more* people will be sloughed off the W.P.A.—this at a time when theatre people and the nation know what the Federal Theatre and Arts Projects mean to America, and what their re-creation at this session of Congress will mean in maintaining America's democratic heritage.

The relief that is needed in America, in Cleveland, for the re-establishment of a Federal Theatre for theatre workers, is being sent to Finland by the Roosevelt Administration. While Roosevelt back-tracks from his New Deal policy and becomes the leader of world imperialism, the American people, 96 per cent of them, voice their desire for peace through the Gallup Poll.

Paralleling this aid for the war-makers of Europe at the expense of relief of unemployment on the home front, is the Roosevelt Administration's onslaught against our Bill of Rights' liberties. Through the Dies and Smith Committees, with whom the Roosevelt Administration is now allied, and the F.B.I., it is playing its war hand by an anti-labor, red-scare witch-hunt; by the prosecution of the most outspoken leader of the peace movement in this country, Earl Browder, because he and the Communist Party of this country will not support their pro-war maneuvers.

We must see that the American people are consulted on their future.

We, the people, who want peace for America more than anything else; we in the arts world realize that the only way our pleas will be heeded is to take the issue in our own hands, and not be represented by the arch-reactionary Wall Street interests and political aspirations of a Hoover, or his yes-man in the theatre world, Schaffer.

PROGRAM FOR PEACE

This is our program.

1) *Keep America Out of War* by stopping active assistance to one side, the Allies, in this imperialist war; by a strict policy of neutrality; by no intervention in Finland or other Scandinavian countries; by protesting the pending disguised war loan to the arch-reactionary, anti-trade union Mannerheim Government; by refusing to let our talents and personalities be exploited to "sell" the war as in 1914-1918; by asking for the immediate stoppage of this war instead of creating a mass war hysteria by a repetition of *Hello Central—Give Me No Man's Land*.

2) *Reduce Unemployment* by fighting through your trade unions, mass organizations, and as individuals, the President's lop-sided war preparations budget; by demanding the re-creation of a bigger Federal Theatre and Arts Projects Bill to be passed at the present session of Congress, so that the cultural artist receives his life-blood—work and an audience.

3) *Civil Liberties Must Be Maintained* by fighting its curtailment in your trade unions and throughout this country; by fighting the "Red Scare" movement of the F.B.I.; by demanding the dissolution of the red-baiting Dies Committee, anxious to besmear Hollywood progressivism next; by boycotting Hollywood's debased picture of the Negro in *Gone With the Wind* and supporting its fine film of America's true conditions, *The Grapes of Wrath*; by protesting every move to silence our voices against this war, war profiteering and unemployment, the right to speak for democracy guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

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